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ABSTRACT

California's population changes will present challenging public policy dilemmas concerning employment, income, political participation, education, and health services. This paper shares research results to be published in a book entitled "The Burden of Support: The Young Latino in an Aging Society," by David Hayes-Bautista, Jorge Chapa, and Warner Shink. The report identifies trends and shifts in California's population that will affect public policy. The method used was a statistically based "population model" incorporating age and major race-ethnicity cohorts projected over a 50-year period between 1980 and 2030. Projections show that California will develop into an age-race stratified society by 2030. Residents over 65 will most likely be Anglo; persons under 65 (the working age population) are likely to be Latino or another minority. Projections are based on three assumptions: (1) a 5-year increase in life expectancy, (2) a gradually declining Latino fertility rate, and (3) increasing immigration to California. Strategies must be developed to improve broad-based intergenerational carrying capacity. Social welfare policymakers will have to reconcile tensions between the dependent population segments at both ends of the age spectrum. The elderly will need income maintenance and health care services, while the children will need more and better educational services. A human investment policy model is needed to maximize everyone's productivity and potential. Included are numerous charts and 11 references. (MLH)

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"School Ain't What it Used to Be": The Impact of The Young Latino in an Aging California Society

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Based on a Presentation made to the Northern Counties Regional Conference of the California School Boards Association Redding, California

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School Ain't What It Used to Be: The Impact of the Young Latino in An Aging California Society

Introduction

This presentation will serve to selectively preview the release of original research concerning the impact of population changes on California's future. A book to be entitled *The Burden of Support: The Young Latino in an Aging Society* will be published later this year or in early 1987 by the Stanford University Press. My colleagues who author this work, Dr. David Hayes-Bautista and Jorge Chapa of the University of California Berkeley and Werner Shink, have authorized me to share with you this important work. This I do as an informed collaborator of the researchers and as was done earlier this year with the California Coalition for Fair School Finance.[1] A similar earlier written preview has been shared with the California Legislature.[2]

As will be seen, and in a manner consistent with the designated title for today's presentation, the emerging demographic reality in California is definitely not what it used to be. But, what is it becoming? What might you be expected to do about it in setting policy and providing leadership? It is in this area that I will begin to share some analyses and ideas.

It is a credit to you and your Association that as leaders and policy makers in public education you are conscious of the quickly changing population picture and are actively addressing the future. Your involvement with educational needs of today's children has brought you into an early contact with tomorrow's likely population profile. (see Figure One below). For you as Public School Board Directors and Superintendents, the statistics and demographic projections which will be shared are far less abstract and removed from your immediate reality than they seem to be for other areas of social and public policy. In my primary areas of involvement, public health and law, there is currently considerably less appreciation of the significance of these changes. This may, in part, be due to the difference in the nature of the public responsibility for health as compared to education. For education there is, indeed, a clear legal mandate for a public system of compulsory free education for all children. Education is a basic and universal legal right, but health care services are not. You deal constantly with the issues that arise from these rights and obligations.

The material on which this presentation is based deals broadly with social policy and goes beyond education and health. Employment, income, political participation, and various socio-cultural dimensions are discussed, analyzed, and related to human services policy options.

Education will be focussed upon today in a manner which will allow understanding of our general approach. A few illustrative issue areas will be underscored which will hopefully prove useful.

Purpose, Approach, and Basic Assumptions

The nature of this research is social policy and does not pretend to be demography, in the strict sense of that discipline. The purpose is the identification of age-race trends and shifts in the composition of California's population. This exploration begins with current data as its basis for projection. Both quantitative and qualitative variables are examined with the intention of explaining and projecting possible outcomes over time, given our stated assumptions. Further, we consider available policy approaches and alternatives. The intention is not to be prescriptive or judgmental, although we openly share our concerns about value choices and possible consequences.

The primary method for development is through the elaboration of a statistically-based "Population Model" which incorporates age and major race/ethnicity cohorts. As the figures will show, these are projected over a fifty year period between the years 1980 and 2030. Our particular focus is on the Latino[3] population in California.

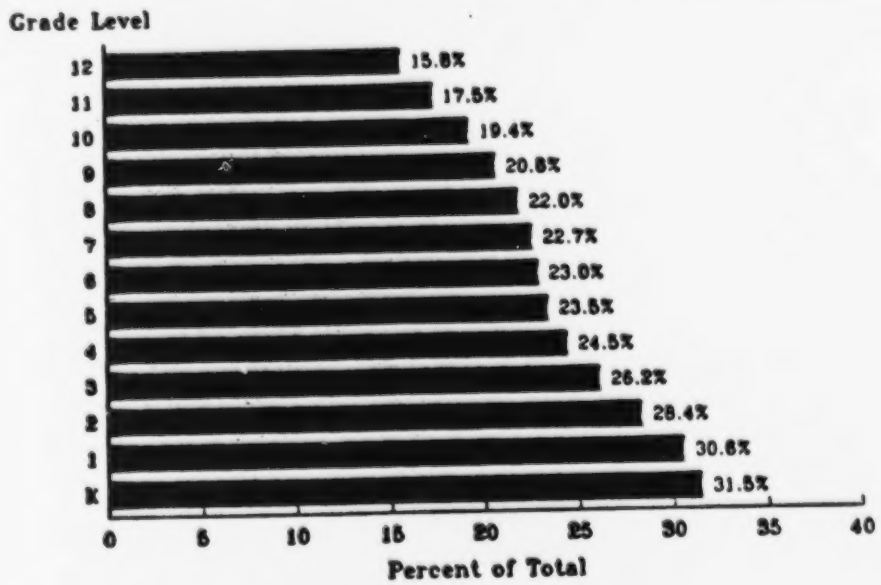
The principal thesis is that California will develop into an "Age-Race Stratified Society" within this time period. The dilemma and basis of our concern is succinctly stated in Dr. Hayes-Bautista's statement:

"By the year 2030 there will be a very simple correlation affecting the composition of the population: if one is over 65, one is likely to be an Anglo; if one is under 65 and in the working-age population, one is likely to be Latino or other minority. The problem will become compounded by the high correlation betwen age and ethnicity. What would ba problem of income transfer from one generation to another may easily come to be seen as income transfer from one ethnic group to another."[4]

Selected Current Data. The quantitative relationship of Latino children in California schools according to 1980 figures is found in the graph found in Figure One.

FIGURE ONE

Percent Hispanic Enrollment by Grade Level for California Public Schools, 1979-1980



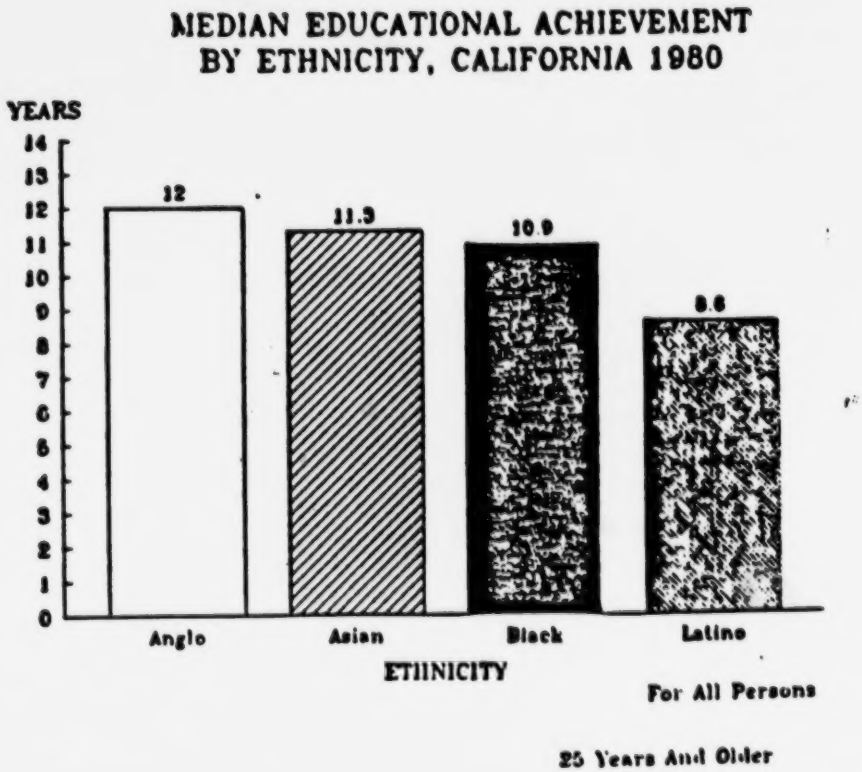
Source: California Department of Education

With the 1980 census percentage of total Latino population in California set at 19.3%, it can be clearly seen that the 15.8% figure here at the twelfth grade level was well below the proportion of the total and at the kindergarden level at 31.5%, it was well over. The Latino population, quite obviously, includes many children who are entering school in vastly increased numbers. It is a glimpse of the kind of ethnic composition of the population of the future and has been noted by many recent sources.[5]

We also know that the drop out rate for Latino children in the schools is high, although a solid statewide figure has been difficult to confirm. The best approximation is around thirty-five to forty percent.[6] Going beyond the school drop out rate, it is estimated that " of all adult Latinos, 56.5 percent did not finish high school, while only 21.5 percent of non-Latinos manage this same low level of non-accomplishment."[7]

The impact of these phenomena on the adult population 25 years and older is expressed in Figure Two which shows Median Educational Achievement by Ethnicity in 1980.

FIGURE TWO

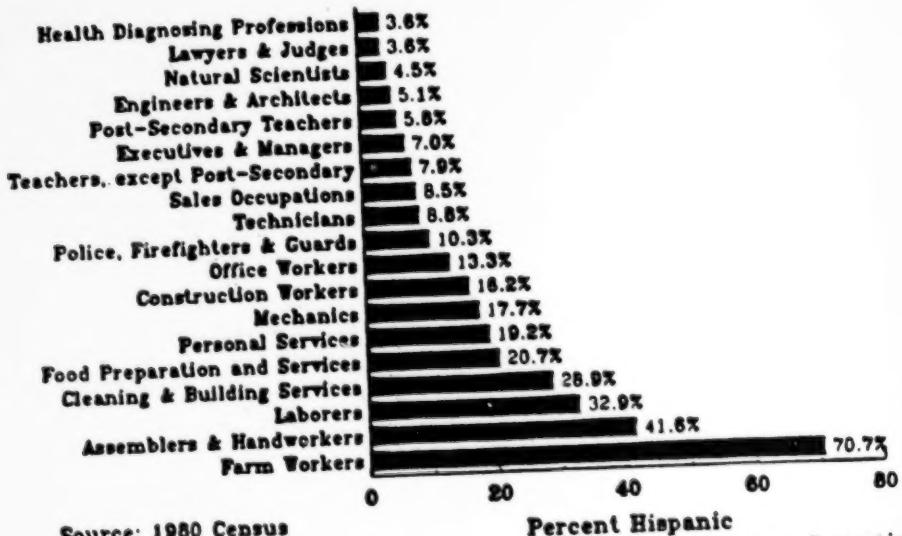


The gap of 3.4 years of education between the adult Latino and Anglo populations is substantial, but even compared to the Black and Asian groups it is markedly disparate.

Lastly for preliminary purposes, we link these items to the 1980 Concentration of Latinos in Occupational Groups in California in Figure Three.

FIGURE THREE

Concentration of Latinos in Occupational Groups
California 1980



Source: 1980 Census

The minimal Latino representation in the "Learned Professions" continues to be a major concern at our post-secondary and graduate educational levels. The hugely disproportionate Latino representation at the marginal and unskilled occupational levels is obvious and and, we believe, not unrelated to the current "educational non-accomplishment" among working-age Latinos.

The Population Model and its Assumptions. For purposes of projecting a picture of future population trends and relative composition, a statistically-based population model is used which incorporates current demographic data. A set of key assumptions about trends and likely changes are then numerically factored into the data base and then are "aged" or projected over the chosen timeframe. The graphic expression of

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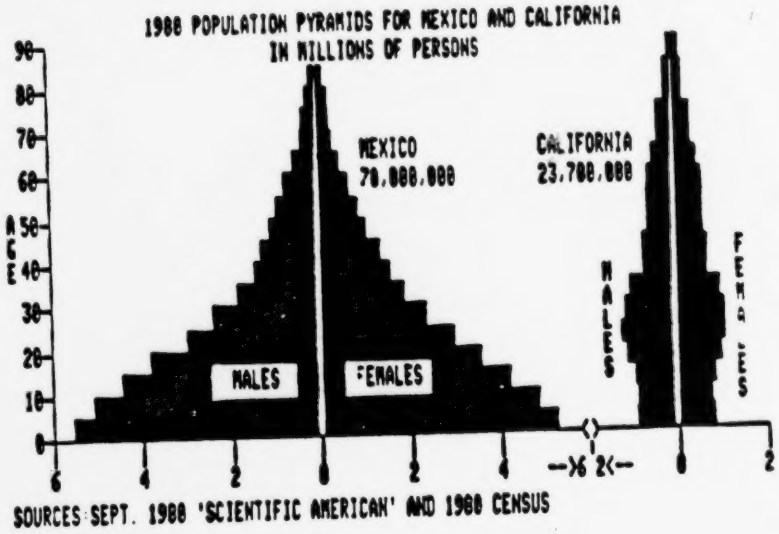
these outcomes are represented in "Population Pyramids." For our purposes ten year intervals were chosen between 1980 and 2030.

To illustrate the device used we start in Figure Four with a binational comparison of the 1980 Population Pyramids which correspond to México and to the State of California.

FIGURE FOUR



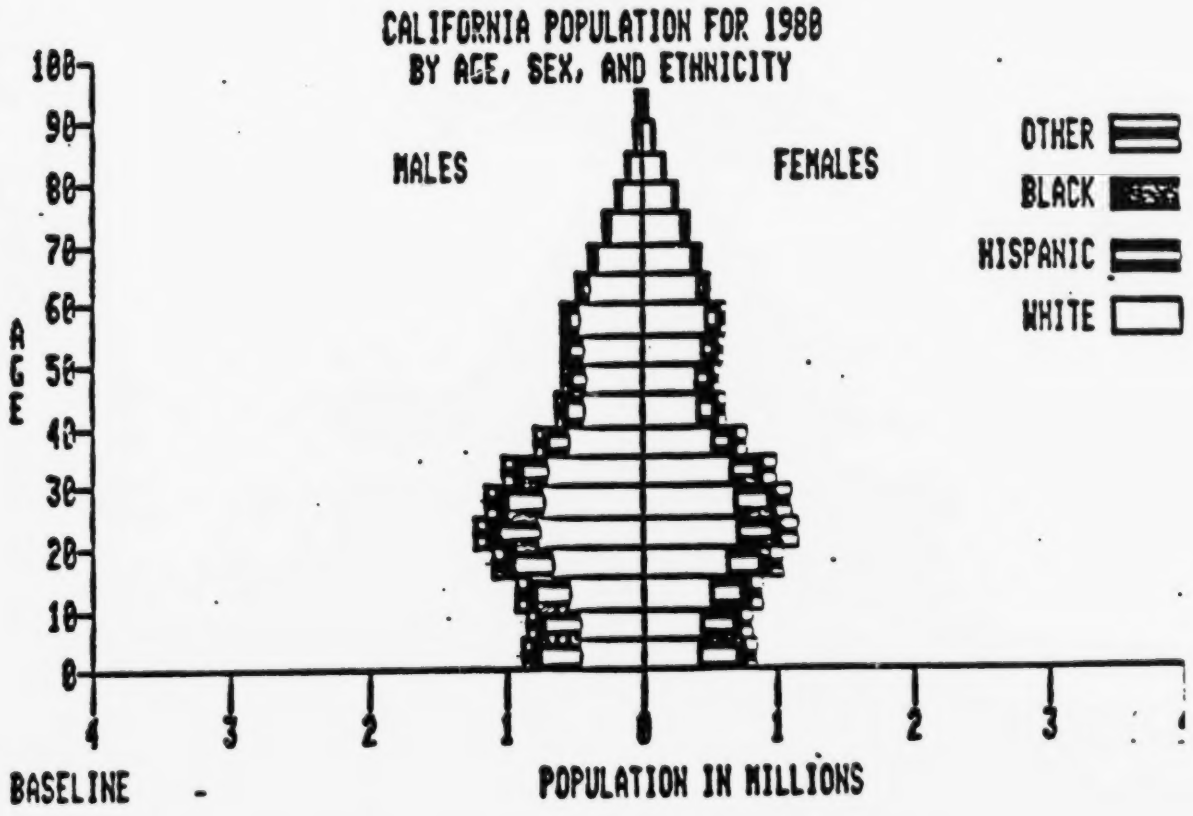
In these two pyramids age is displayed on the Y axis in five year increments with numbers of people in the population per age increment noted along the X axis and separated in the middle by gender. México displays an archetypical pyramid which might be expected of a "preindustrial"[8] or economically developing nation. California's graph is

strikingly different in contour and age group clustering, especially in the 15 to 35 year-old range. This is our "Baby Boom" population.

The binational age comparison is worthy of note. México's national median age in 1979-80 was 17 years. This compares with California's 1980 Anglo population median age set at 34.3 years and California's Latino population then set at 23.1 years.

The basic population model was modified for our purposes by the incorporation of ethnicity cohorts. These included Anglo Non-Latino, Latino, Black Non-Latino, and Other. This is shown by Figure Five for our starting point of 1980.

FIGURE FIVE



The "aging" of California's population based on the assumptions which are incorporated in our "Baseline Population Model" (explained below) can be appreciated visually through the quick review of changes at the decennial points of the years 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020, and 2030. Commentary highlighting details will follow the corresponding graphs and then the operative assumptions and their key elements will be developed.

FIGURE SIX

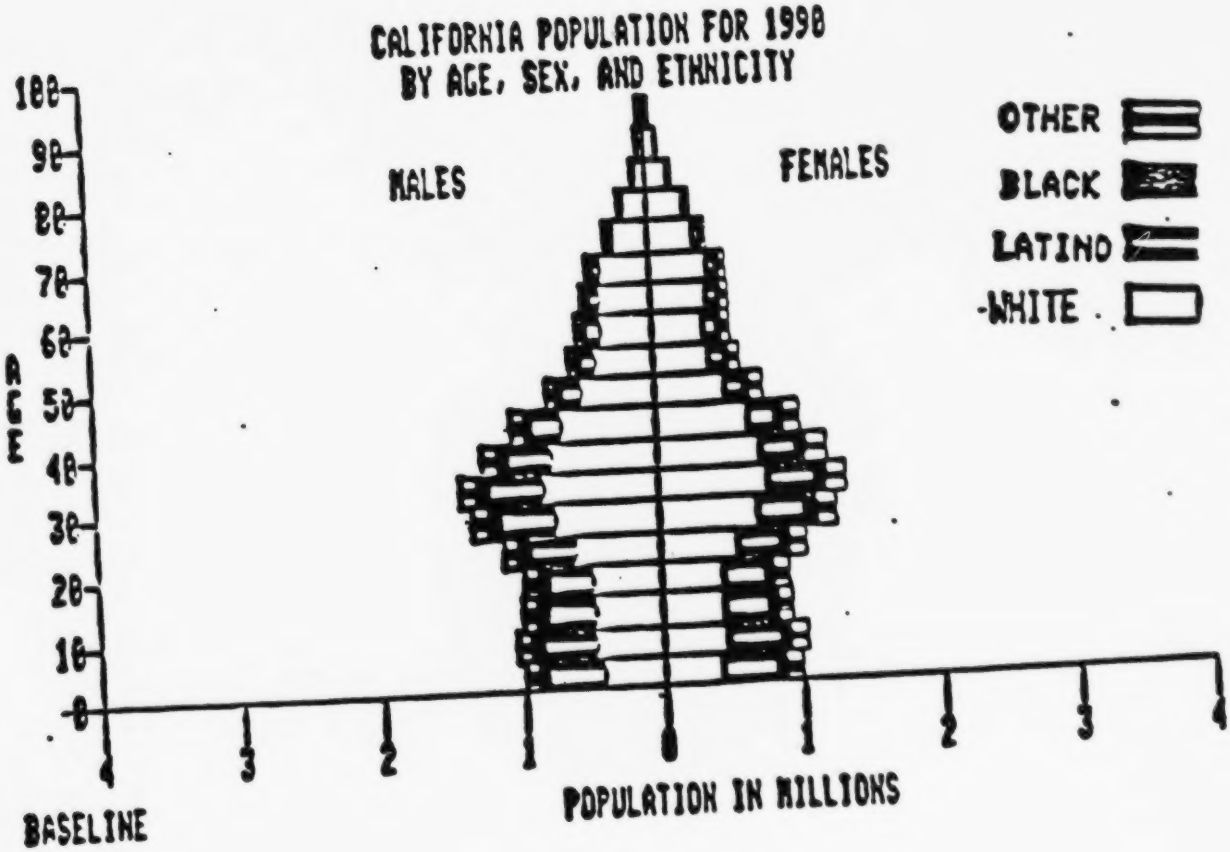


FIGURE SEVEN

CALIFORNIA POPULATION FOR 2000
BY AGE, SEX, AND ETHNICITY

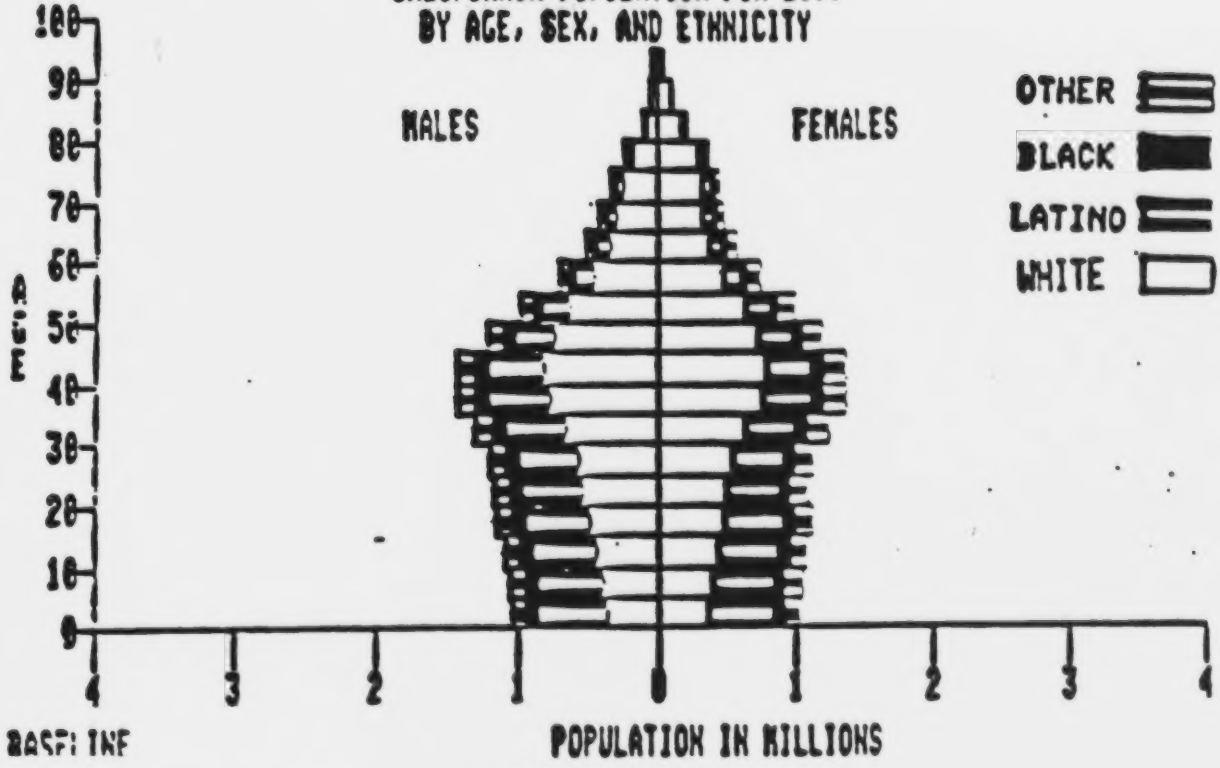


FIGURE EIGHT

CALIFORNIA POPULATION FOR 2010
BY AGE, SEX, AND ETHNICITY

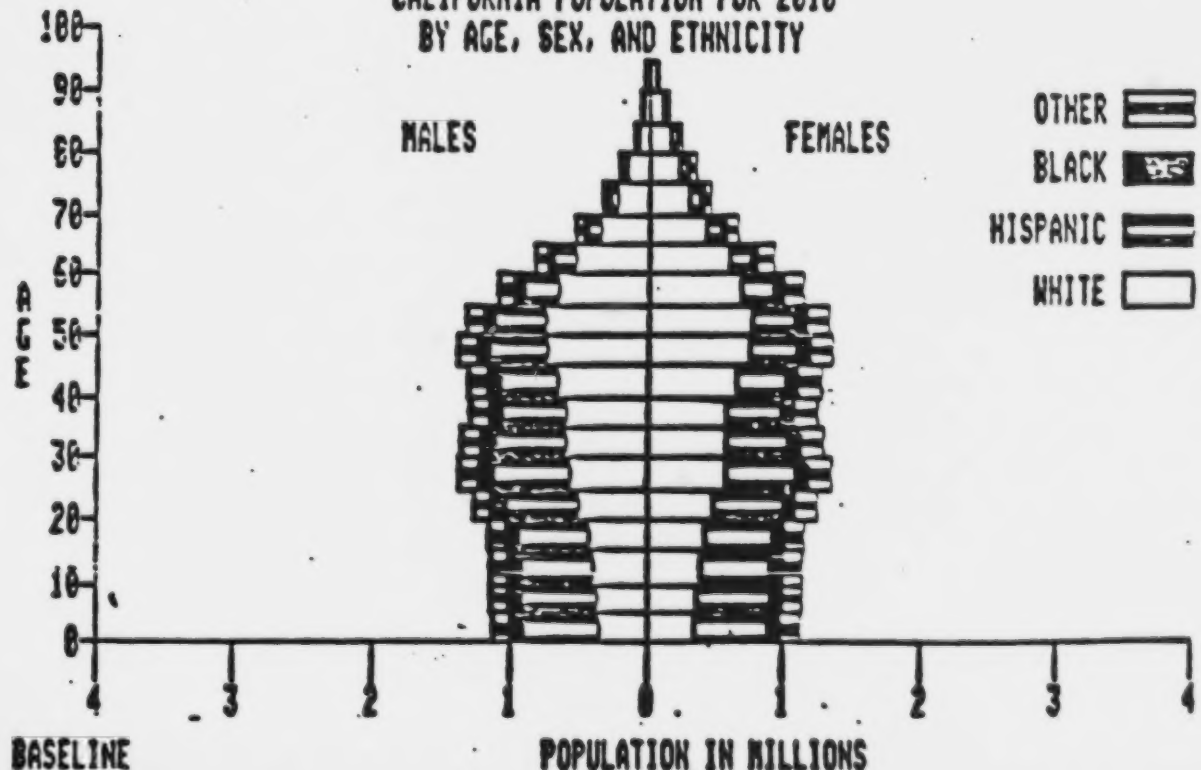


FIGURE NINE

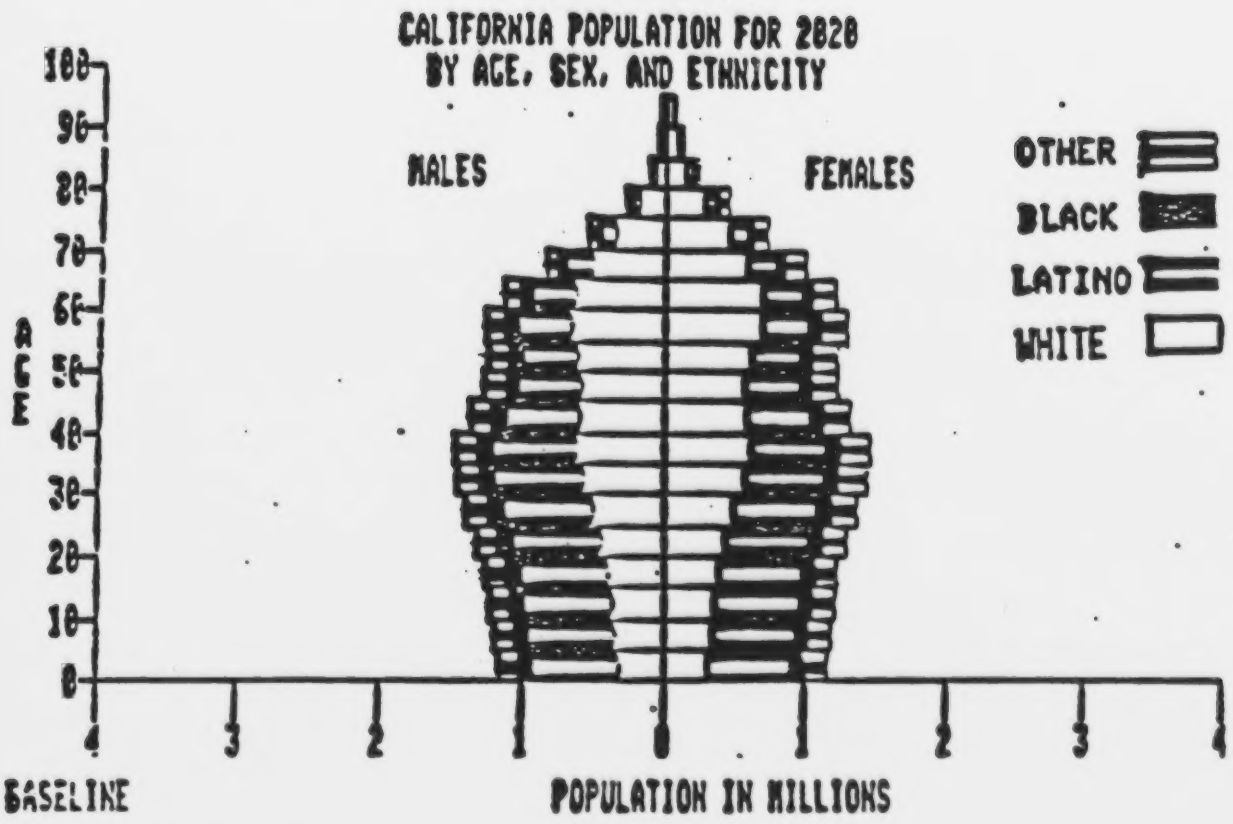
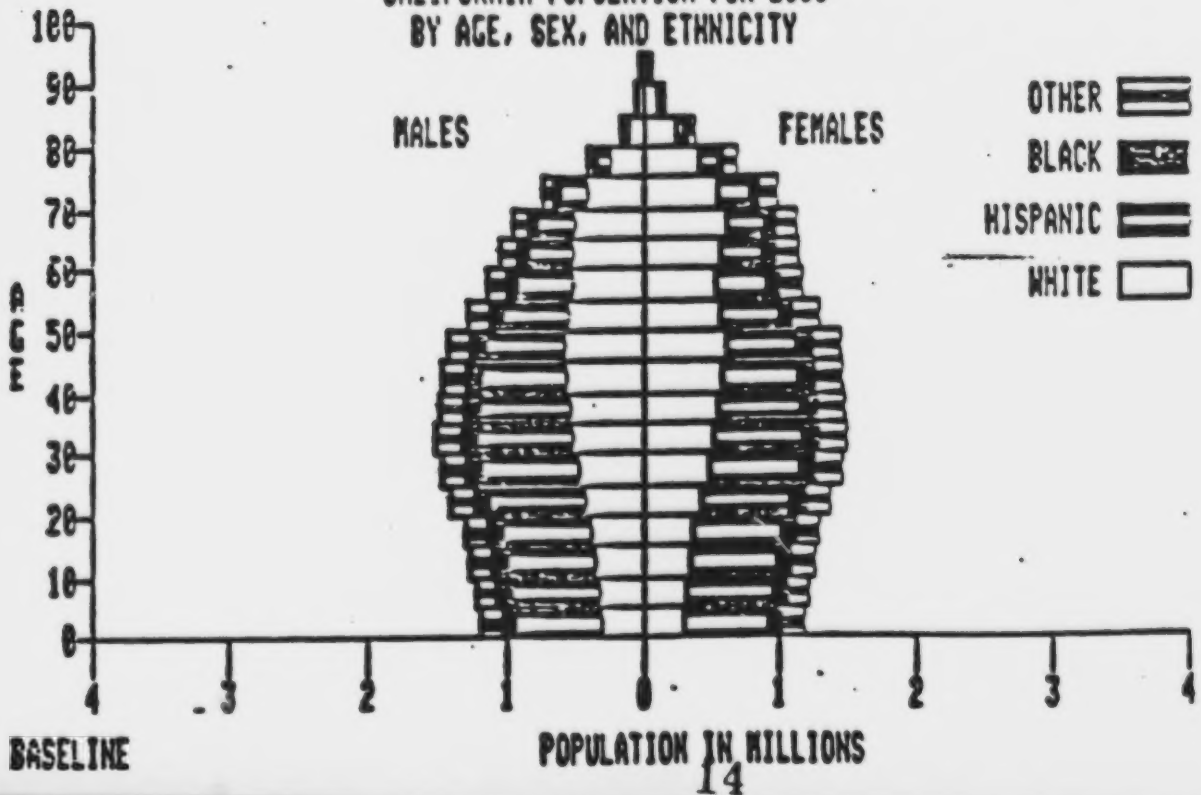


FIGURE TEN



The year 2010 shows two significant changes. Ethnic composition reaches a point where the non-Anglo groups in aggregate become more numerous than the Anglo population. In essence, this would mean that in the California population generally there would cease to be a single major ethnic group in the majority. In essence, we would then all belong to an ethnic "minority groups." This change would have been reached earlier among the school age population. Secondly in relation to age factors, the Baby Boom population which formed the 15 to 35 year old lump in the 1980 pyramid in the year 2010 begins to approach the age of retirement. The Age-Race stratification by this point becomes pronounced and unmistakable. Keep in mind that this occurs within the next 25 years.

The fullest development of the stratification phenomenon is, of course, found in the final pyramid of Figure Ten. At that point approximately 60% of the total population would be non-Anglo. The Latino percentage of the total population would be 35.8 percent up from the 1980 figure of 19.3 percent. The total elderly population is projected in 2030 to be 22.2 percent of the total up from the 1980 total 10.1 percent. To underscore this last point it should be pointed out that by 2030 the state's median age is expected to reach 44.3 years. Starting this century in 1900 the life expectancy in the United States was 47 years.

The future of society will be demographically different in a dramatic way and along with that will come unprecedented policy issues of the relationship of groups to one another, especially between the young and the old and along ethnic lines. Ultimately, our projections are only as good as our assumptions and Population Model, but this stratification phenomenon appears to be well in progress.

Assumptions for Developing our Baseline Population Model. There are three major components which contain our choice of the best assumptions. Variations on each component factor were considered and are discussed, but will not be reviewed today. The critical major areas are Mortality, Fertility, and Migration.

1. Mortality. It is expected that life expectancy will gradually increase five years by the year 2030. It is highly unlikely that the nearly thirty year increase that has occurred in the U.S. during the Twentieth Century will continue. At the same time, it is unlikely that no increase or even a decrease would occur. A five year increase factor seems reasonable.

2. Fertility. Among Latinos a gradually declining completed fertility rate from the 1980 levels is projected. This rate would begin to approach the present rates of the other groups and by the year 2030 would be slightly below the level of replacement (i.e., Replacement Rate for stable

population is calulated at 2.1 live births per woman of child bearing age). The current 1980 completed fertility rates of the other groups is held constant and extended over the period in question here. Figure Eleven shows our computational basis for completed fertility.

FIGURE ELEVEN

	Actual 1980	Projection Basis
White Non-Latino	1.4	1.4
Latino Foreign-born	3.2	2.6
Latino Native-born	2.6	1.8
Black Non-Latino	1.8	1.8
Others	1.8	1.8

3. Migration. A total constant in-migration to California from all sources is projected at 250,000 people annually. Of these, 100,000 would be expected to be Latino. This is considered realistic given current trends in population movement. The figure does not presuppose either massive Latino out-migration from California or a total halt in Latino in-migration, despite Immigration Law Reform.[10] The figure also does not presuppose any catastrophic hemispheric developments such as national economic collapse or warfare, famine, or natural disaster in Latin America. Such a major catastrophe would in likelihood drive these in-migration figure upwards considerably.

The result shown in the Decennial Population Pyramid Figures are only possible under this set of assumptions. As each is varied in one direction or another the contours of the resulting pyramids are also changed. The nature and focus of our policy concerns and the analyses will vary as we experience our future. Anticipation and vision are necessary factors in exercising responsible leadership, even if we later discover that speculative projections are not fully on target. There is now a dire need to anticipate and plan for the problems and opportunities presented by change and impending change.

The striking feature about three factors built into our Model is that the quantitative changes associated with each area of the Baseline Population Model are what we term "Inexorable Changes."[11] Although influenced by other variables, these complex biological and social factors remain outside of our power to truly control. Some quantitative aspects could be blunted by collective human means but, given our state of knowledge and technological capabilities, these realities cannot simply be stopped cold or reversed. Cataclismic events are always possible but, for most, they cannot be predicted or factored. We do, however, have the means and collective social responsibility to deal with the qualitative dimensions associated with these "Inexorable" human quantitative phenomena. Our policy attention needs to be focussed on these qualitative human dimensions.

The Significance of Generational "Carrying Capacity"

Understanding and coping with the nature and operation of intergenerational support issues are crucial social policy development needs. The development of strategies for the promotion of broad-based generational carrying capacity are imperative for an age-race stratitifed social circumstance to function and preserve social cohesion.

Choices to be made will create the scenario that we and our children must live. Extremely different scenarios have been postulated within this work. Either hypothetical scenario is plausible and can be conditioned to occur. The two major alternatives are labeled the "Opportunity Scenario" on the one hand, which is the one geared to the development of social policy which invests in creating an adequate generational carrying capacity, and the other is the "Conflict Scenario" which allows the tensions and unresolved problems inherent in a age-race stratified social situation to take over. This latter scenario is of the type that is being played out currently in South Africa.

It becomes necessary to answer this question: how will a largely non-white, or non-Anglo, potentially undereducated, working-age segment of the population of the future be sufficiently productive to bear the burden of providing for themselves, their children, and simultaneously provide income transfer to a huge largely White or Anglo population which

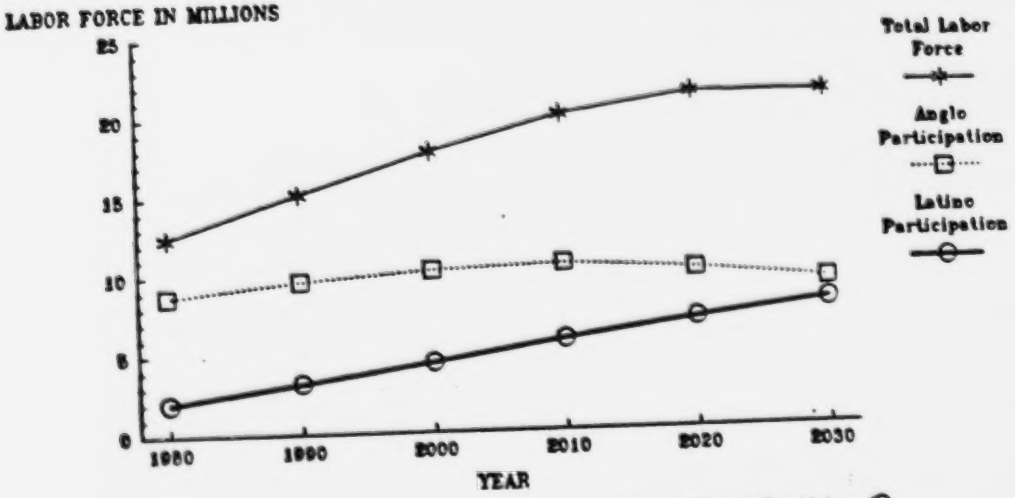
has become accustomed to one of the highest standards of material existence ever achieved?

Of particular relevance for social welfare policy making will be reconciling the tension between the dependent portions of the population on both ends of the age spectrum. The nature of the needs of the predominantly Anglo elderly and the predominantly non-Anglo youth will be very different. The elderly will be most interested in income maintenance and health care services. The children will primarily need more and better educational services. Will the predominantly non-Anglo working age population be in a position to generate the financing required for adequately meeting all of the expensive public service needs of dependent populations?

An insightful graphic representation of the interaction of education variables is shown by combining Figure Two above and labor force variables found in Figure Eleven. Figure Twelve then suggests that this carrying capacity for meeting the intergenerational support burden will not exist, if present qualitative trends continue. First the Latino and Anglo Labor Force Participation projection during this period are depicted in Figure Eleven. These show that while the total labor force increases the Anglo portion will level out and begin to drop while the Latino portion steadily climbs and begins to nearly equal that of Anglos by the year 2030.

FIGURE ELEVEN

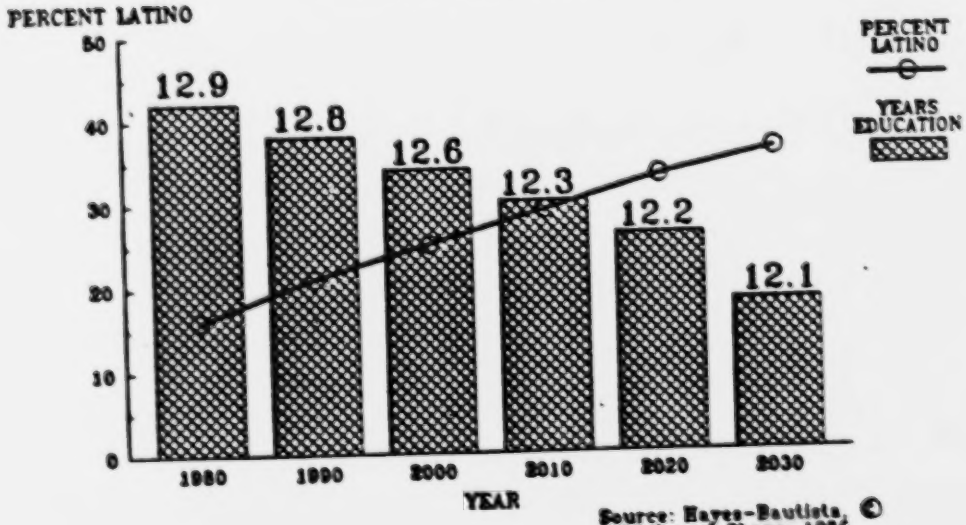
LATINO AND ANGLO LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION CHANGES, CALIFORNIA 1980-2030



Source: Hayes-Bautista, Schink and Chapa, 1988 ©

FIGURE TWELVE

PERCENT LATINO COMPOSITION OF LABOR FORCE AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AT 1980 DIFFERENTIALS CALIFORNIA, 1980-2030



Source: Hayes-Bautista, Schink and Chapa, 1988 ©

Figure Twelve combines the Labor Force and Educational Achievement figures. Recalling the "Median Educational Achievement" ethnic group differentials of Figure Two and, assuming that they remain constant over this period, the resulting impact of the Latino increase is to gradually bring down the median years of educational achievement figure for the entire workforce from 12.9 years in 1980 to a projected 12.1 in 2030. It should be kept in mind that the labor force figures here include some people under 25 years of age not included in Table Two, but who are not considered dependent, and it excludes the elderly dependent who would leave the labor force as time advances. It is necessary to deliberate upon the possible broad social implications of this kind of national and state development on health, education, economics, politics, and cultural and social cohesion.

The world of the years 2010, 2030, and beyond, will undoubtedly require greater capacity and sophistication in order to survive and to thrive, not less. This capacity cannot and will not occur by happenstance or mere wishful thinking. Unfortunately, it is impossible now to develop the complex interrelationships between health, economics, politics, and cultural pluralism, but there is no doubt that much attention needs to be given to them immediately. The Schools as public institutions are, and will continue to be, directly experiencing some of these demographically -

induced tensions and potential conflicts before other areas. Likewise, the solutions will need to be attempted there first.

Attitude Towards and Outlook for Things that Will Not Be "What They Used to Be."

Educational policy on all governmental levels will need to be in the forefront. While this "Demographically Different Future" may seem to many as a threat which raises anxiety, it can and should also allow for new opportunities and for the possibility of new directions. This extends to California's international prospects to develop as a hub of the "Pacific Rim" commercial, scientific, and cultural interchanges leveraged upon the capacity and diversity of its population. A broad commercial, cultural, intellectual, and social rebirth which accompanies these new global horizons is as much a possibility as that of domestic decline or social paralysis.

It was stated previously that the purpose was not to be prescriptive. However, to merely point out the contours of our likely future and offer no solutions is frustrating to all concerned. No matter how rational and realistic our demographic base of projection and "Population Model" may be shown to be, it still is undeniable that normative dimensions involving attitudes and values will determine whether and how something is done.

We are convinced that selection of human investment policy models

which are tied to broadly inclusive and integrated community development strategies are in the immediate and long-term interest of this society. Anti-social equity policy motivated by short term gain, fears of differences, phobias, and distrust will lead to the Conflict Scenario in a age-race stratified society mentioned previously. The belief that there are some expendable individuals and segments of this society is to be strongly challenged. Yet many present-day policy rationales on the role and limits of governmental responsibility border on such assertions.

Hopefully we can all appreciate and seek the course to achieving the Opportunity Scenario. Many times in present policy discourse the appearance of compassion and human empathy are considered outdated and misguided altruism. In the economically artificial "declining resources" environment of current United States and State public policy and public administration such "sentimentality" is discreditted and viewed as irrational. It does not rest on the current economic bottom line.

However, what this exploration of our potential future should teach us is that human investment models which seek to maximize the full productivity and human potential of everyone in this society do not rest on mere altruism, but are attempts to assure the best and most harmonious future for all of us. This is much more like truly sensible and enlightened personal and social self-interest, rather than misguided sentimentality.

Hopefully, sharing this broad population context and alternative viewpoint will assist you in reconceptualizing the solutions and relationships to the difficult problems which accompany the responsibilities of educational leadership.

ENDNOTES

[1]Coalition for Fair School Finance, "The Changing Condition of Children: How Will Education Respond?" Review of Proceedings, December 1985, p. 2.

[2]D. E. Hayes-Bautista, J. Chapa, and W. Shink, "Setting the Policy Agenda for California's Generations: Demographic and Economic Trends in the Latino Population" Hispanic Legislative Conference 1986, April 1986, Sacramento, California.

[3]For purposes of this research the term Latino is intended to be all inclusive subsuming a variety of categories such as Hispanic, Mexican-American, Chicano, Purerto Rican, Cuban, Central American, and South American. In different data bases different terms are used and the debate about which is best continues. See D.E. Hayes-Bautista and J. Chapa, "Latino Terminology: Conceptual Bases for Standardized Terminology", American Journal of Public Health 77, No. 1 (January 1987), pp. 61-68. Also F. M. Treviño, "Standardized Terminology for Hispanic Populations", American Journal of Public Health 77, No. 1 (January 1987), pp. 69-72. The current research represents a first major academic assertion of Dr. Hayes-Bautista's preference and for which he develops the historical and epistemological basis in the Journal article which was pending for publication at the time of this address. This usage is also substantially consistent with the Los Angeles Times Style Guide (n.d.).

[4]D.E. Hayes-Bautista, J. Chapa, and W. Shink, The Burden of Support: The Young Latino in an Aging American Society, (Palo Alto, California, Stanford University Press, forthcoming) p. 4 of unpublished manuscript under revision at time of presentation.

[5]"Minority Students to be Majority in State's Public School by 1990", The Tribune (Oakland, California), Friday, September 20, 1985, p. C-2. Dan Walters, "Scholars take Look at California's Future," The Tribune (Oakland, California), May 4, 1986, p. D-3, Col. 1. Kenneth Reich, "Latino Population in U.S. Expected to Double by 2020," The Tribune (Oakland, California), Friday, September 26, 1986, p A-2, Col. 2.

[6]Caroline Turner, "Demographic Shifts and Their Implications for Education: The Hispanic Population in California", Policy Analysis for California Education (PACE), prepared for Stanford and the Schools Study, Stanford University, July 1984, p. 19.

ENDNOTES (CONTINUE)

[7] Idem, Hayes-Bautista, Chapa, Shink, The Burden of Support, p. 86.

[8] Idem, Hayes-Bautista, Chapa, Shink, The Burden of Support, p. 10.

[9] Idem, Hayes-Bautista, Chapa, Shink, The Burden of Support, p. 18d.

[10] The day of the presentation, on which this narrative is based, the United States Congress passed The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, S. 1200, H. Rpt. 99-1000. Through a series of compromises and manuevers this measure, known commonly as the "Simpson-Rodino Act", was resurrected from a legislative defeat less than a month earlier. It was passed on October 17, 1986, later signed by President Reagan, and became enacted into law as Pub. Law No. 99-603.

[11] The Second College Edition of The American Heritage Dictionary defines "Inexorable" as "not capable of being persuaded by entreaty; unyielding." Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1976, p. 658.